171 826 if they had cut the rope higher up, the woman would have come out beautiful, and then all Indians would be white and beautiful" (Lehmann-Nitsche 6, 195, 196). As we can see, "white" and "beautiful" are clearly equated in this myth.

826 Just as most Tapirapé do not fit their own ideal of beauty with regard to skin color, they do not fit it either with regard to stature, for while most of them are small, they like large men.

They also like a body where none of the parts provided by [302] nature are missing, except for the hair, which is cut on specific occasions, and the body hair, which is carefully plucked. For this reason, namely, for esthetic motives, Chief Kamaiuahó would not allow one of his incisors to be removed, although it was quite loose and the source of frequent complaints on his part.

291 [171] Like most Brazilian Indians who do not yet live in close and continuous contact with the Whites, the Tapirapé, both men and women, go altogether naked. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] And like most Indians in this country, the Tapirapé always go barefoot. The men merely wear the penis sheath and sometimes the waist cord.

171 192 When I asked the Tapirapé for the name of their penis sheath, someone first told me the word nohó. This is the name given to the penis in Karajá, but those Indians do not use a sheath. They tie the prepuce just over the glans with a cotton cord that they call noodakán (Krause 2, 204). Later I heard among the Tapirapé the word cherakuichivohúa to designate "my penis sheath," from cherakui, "my penis," and húa, which is related to the word for "leaf." [Ed., the first paragraph of p. 84 is omitted.]

291 [287] [105:84] The penis sheath of the Tapirapé is made of a strip of inner bark, from one and a half to two centimeters wide, taken from the stalk of the central leaf of a palm called pinavó by these Indians and simply "palm tree" by the non-Indian population of the Araguaia. As a rule, each man possesses a number of these strips, hung in bundles and rolls on the walls of his hut.

To make the sheath, the strip is folded so that its tips nearly join. Then the tips are slipped together into the resulting knot. [531] This produces a funnel with oblique walls, sometimes adorned with a few burns made with lightly applied live coals (Photo. 20). A special device prevents the funnel from opening too easily: before

291 folding the strip in half, the men fold a small part of it obliquely, and then fold the strip once more so that the triangle is placed exactly over it. The strip is not folded stiffly, since owing to its natural toughness it has a tendency to unfold. As a result of this tendency, the tip folded in this fashion remains securely held in the knot along with the other tip.

As a rule, a man will prepare a new sheath as he gets up in the morning. The prepuce is pushed through the funnel in such a way that it projects beyond the smaller opening and is tied all around like the end of a sausage, remaining erect. Thus, the funnel is worn upside-down, that is to say, with the smaller opening on top and the larger rim facing toward the front (cf. Photos. 5, 63, and 68).

As may be seen in these photographs, the yellow color of the inner-bark strip stands out clearly against the skin. In view of [832] this, a desire to attract the attention of the opposite sex may be involved in the use of the sheath. At the same time, it is also [834] possible that the men assign to the sheath the same purpose that, [171] according to Krause (2, 204), the Karajá assign to their penis cord, that is to say, that of concealing the glans from the eyes of women. There is no doubt, however, that both sheath and cord serve as 751 protection against crustaceans and insects, such as ticks, for example. We have known cases where these parasites fastened their proboscis [105:85] right at the opening of the urethra. The [825] Tapirapé make no distinctions among these various kinds of little creatures and call them all tantevoga. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Small boys do not protect their member. Just as the Karajá 291 [881] adolescents do not use the penis cord until their hair is cut for the [171] initiation, Tapirapé youths first use the sheath at the time of the haircut.

The importance of the penis sheath to the Tapirapé is perhaps [524] made evident by the fact that even the dolls made for fun were supplied with such sheaths (Photo. 77). [Ed., the last half of p. 85, p. 86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted.]

[105:87] The waist cord is called anchekuakuán or [283] chikoanjkohâua in Tapirapé. It is made of cotton threads twisted [462] by the women on their thighs, but it is used solely by the men. The latter wear it so that it lies a good distance below the navel

291 (cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of
[114] the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord for-
[174] merly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day
Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as
[482] a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88]
[412] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent
times a pair of scissors as well.

Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for
114 carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the
854 shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries
177 had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics.
The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note
that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is inter-
esting because it would have been possible to carry the children
in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces
of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children.
[171] Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause,
2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians.
[Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however,
that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neigh-
bors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276
and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous
pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a
decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In
291 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories
177 had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men
[512] alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their
[301] sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and
claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important
chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had re-
ceived as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably
inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady
remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to
177 the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the even-
29 ing, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold
513 the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the
mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

177
291 welcome, this important man lay in his small hammock without
[513] the slightest intention of hiding his skin, which was occasionally illuminated by the wavering flames.

[105:89] The same was true with regard to all other clothing of similar provenience. Kamairahó also possessed a large piece of fabric which he used as a sort of cloak, but only during the day and not as frequently as the dress. Vuatanamy, another influential leader, wrapped himself during the hottest hours of the day in a heavy poncho, which was of such good quality that I tried to find out the name of the person who had given out such presents (cf. Photo. 58). Then the evil tongues told me that this Gaucho gar-
[191] ment had belonged to a missionary, who lost it unwittingly with the full cooperation of Vuatanamy. The former owner may derive some consolation from the fact that his unintended beneficiary continued to sleep naked through mosquito bites and cold spells.

The shirts, vests, and trousers that I gave to some of the young men were also restricted to daytime use. The enthusiasm for this kind of ornament lasted only a few days. Then the law of the least effort prevailed, and the pieces were put away in a corner of the house. Incidentally, of all my gifts, the vests were the least valued. Their new owners noted signs of wear with obvious displeasure, and perhaps also felt that since the vests had no sleeves they were mere fragments of jackets and thus scorned by the Whites.

The aim of these Indians, however, was to be esteemed by the
648 Whites by conforming to their behavior. I do not mean to say that
177 this was the aim of every Tapirapé. There were some, however, who made it quite clear. There was, for example, Kamairí, the tallest and sturdiest man in Tampiitáua and a leader on certain occasions. Kamairí sometimes liked to use a rather dirty rag as a
[191] loincloth. This was the only loincloth I saw in the tribe, and its use was probably inspired by a desire to reach the ideal proclaimed by some missionary with highly modest sentiments.

177 Such propensities for adaptation, however, did not preclude
291 the use of ornaments furnished by us, even when such objects had
301 never appeared on our own bodies. Thus, Vuatanamy wore a multicolored cap (cf. Photo. 68); Kamanané, the song leader, liked to wear a piece of brightly colored cloth on his head; the
177 red and black cardboard wrapper of my soap contributed to the
301 mosaic of bird feathers that adorned a dance mask; and beads were

302 789 set forth by ethnocentric Europeans. Among the precautionary measures taken by the killer of the Tapirapé shaman, listed by Wagley (4, 16-17 [Tr., in English at 4, 72]), there is also painting the entire body with genipap and the hair with urucú. According to the same author (ibid., 11 [Tr., in English at 4, 67]), a certain Tapirapé medicine man painted his chest and chin with urucú to represent the cauí of blood that drools from the mouth of forest spirits. [Ed., the remainder of p. 127, p. 128, and all but the last paragraph of p. 129 are omitted.]

000 [108:129] Krause (2, 214) writes that the Karajá, when they paint their bodies, usually reserve the color red for men and adolescent boys, and the black for boys and young girls. He adds (ibid.), "Only once did I see a woman painted wholly with red." I wish [108:130] to note in this connection, however, that as far as our trading fabrics are concerned, the Karajá in 1935 left the red ones exclusively to the women, while the men dressed in those of other colors, such as white or green. They might already have learned from the Whites that men do not wear red. A person like the [291] Tapirapé Kamairahó, who had had less contact with so-called civilized people than the Karajá, hid his charms at that time under a woman's dress which had originally been red and which might be said to have remained red in spite of daily wear for weeks on end.

101 171 302 In view of the facts noted by Krause (ibid., 386) about the northern Kayapó and by Von den Steinen (2, 184-188) about the Indians of the upper Xingu basin, it may be said in summary that the Tapirapé are quite sharply differentiated from their neighbors in facial and body painting, although certain similarities exist with the Karajá in torso painting, and with the Kayapó and Xingu Indians in the red "stockings." It is worth noting that such "stockings" were also used by the Tupinambá.

301 237 According to what I saw, the Tapirapé stick soft plumage (aviá, aviá) chiefly on the arms and legs of children. The girl Ampitánia was often adorned in this way. Grownups, however, also use white down glued on the arm when wearing a certain [881] mask (Photo. 70). At the initiation ceremony, the adolescent has white down glued on the forehead, arms, torso, and thighs, with the exception of the buttocks. The glue is a resin (ykyryva in

262 The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts,
178 for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half,
apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens.
Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal
[574] behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited
Tapirapé hospitality. It is true that this may also have resulted in
177 part from contact with the White neighbors who have settled on
• 291 the Tapirapé river over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer, or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their bodies are undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. Thus, instead of satisfying the appetite of their Indian visitors, they are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural rather than physical, one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitaua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them wear complete dresses. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actual-
262 ly experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their
177 new neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the
648 number of inhabitants of their village has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following were not lacking, however: "Now the Tapirapé eat only small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., a large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs. These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry spell, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna, as well as the human beings in the region, have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the frontiersmen, by settling permanently on all the habitable spots along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitaua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers" (Baldus 12).

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Photo. 17. Tembetá of deer bone. -- 18. Tembetá of wild-pig bone. -- 19a. Wooden tembetá. -- 19b. Raw material for wooden tembetá. -- 20, Penis sheaths. -- 21. Ear ornament. -- 22. Small tattooing knife. -- 23. Scarifier.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953).1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

the possibility of comparison, of observing other forms of behavior which were formerly closed to them, now stimulates change in Tapirapé culture.

Numerous other modifications in the Tapirapé way of life might be reported. In 1953, a few Tapirapé collected money which they kept as they formerly kept red parrot feathers in a bamboo container, but they have only vague ideas of its value. Two men own rifles but they have little idea of how to keep them in order. Men wear trousers when they visit the Indian Post, but they might at any time calmly remove them in the presence of the missionaries, and women have learned quickly to put on a wrap-around skirt when Brazilian men approach. These and a series of other changes might be quickly noted as having occurred between 1940 and 1953.

Still, Tapirapé culture has remained remarkably stable in face of the violent disruption of Tapirapé society during this last decade. Tapirapé culture has been modified by borrowing and by loss of trait and pattern due to the reduction of population and the disorganization of the society. Tapirapé society, with fewer people and new influences, has now changed more than Tapirapé culture. Certainly society and culture are intimately related phenomena but the history of the Tapirapé during the last thirteen years indicates the value of distinguishing between social change on the one hand and culture change on the other. For a period the Tapirapé lived as members of a distinct society, but their culture persisted, and with this knowledge they have been able to recreate, at least temporarily, their organized social unit.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 2

Um jovem pagé, em estado de transe, quando realizava o circuito da aldeia durante a sessão diurna da cerimônia do Trovão. Está acompanhado por dois jovens prontos a ampará-lo, se êle cair.

A young shaman, in a tranced state, as he makes the village circuit during the day session of the Thunder Ceremony. He is accompanied by two young men ready to catch him if he should fall.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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786
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Fig. 3

Jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Está doente por engulir fumaça de tabaco e próximo a um estado de transe. Caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do circuito.

Young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. He fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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786
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Fig. 4

Outro jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Também está doente por engulir fumaça de tabaco, e próximo a um estado de transe. Como o da fig. 3, caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do circuito.

Another young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill too from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. Like the other of fig. 3 he fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 3

Kamairai (Veja Apêndice), um jovem pagé, vacilando na metade do circuito da aldeia.

Kamairai (see Appendix), a young shaman, staggering half way around the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 7

O poderoso pagé Urukumá era seguido por numerosos jovens quando fez o circuito pela aldeia, usando o ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Como decoração, usou um pedaço de fazenda vermelha, que lhe fôra presenteado pelo etnólogo.

The powerful shaman, Urukumu, was followed by numerous young men when he made the village circuit wearing the ceremonial headdress. He wore a piece of red cotton cloth given him by the ethnologist as decoration.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 9

Sempre que um pagé caia inconciente, os jovens que o acompanhavam lhe removiam ràpidamente o ornamento da cabeça e o levantavam nos ombros para carregá-lo através do circuito da aldeia. Nessa ocasião, a espôsa de Kamairaho estava preocupada com êle e veio apalpar-lhe a face.

Whenever a shaman fell unconscious, the young men accompanying him quickly removed the headdress and raised him upon their shoulders to carry him through the village circle. On this occasion, Kamairaho's wife was worried about him and came to feel of his face.

264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtãupãũã. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirũ resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [776] ãũvanaí 'shadows' live in the takãna. Their headdress and breechcloth [291] are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (antxína) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takãna. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaí have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takãna, where they eat it. In the apatxirũ, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaí are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaí.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirũ.

For the apatxirũ, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuĭra. The word vuĭra means "bird," and the name of [551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxã, and Vuirantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairahõ; the second chief, Vũãtanamĭ́; the chief and most [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĭ́; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairahõ stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãntaĭva. 264 622 476 651 The ãntaĭva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĭ́ and Urukumĭ́. (Although Kamairahõ was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

162 What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, [165] the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from [115] Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lelong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications [726] caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampiitáua at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

[847] Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

178 Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first 262 visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of 241 vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparent- [574] ly owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

177 It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact [648] with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their 177 body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. 291 Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

177 are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural
291 rather than physical one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitáua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them are completely clothed.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actually
177 experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their new
262 neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the number
[161] of Tampiitáua inhabitants has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following [139] were not lacking, however. "Now the Tapirapé only eat small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs."

These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein
[261] and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry season, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna as well as the human beings in the region have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the
[136] frontiersmen, by settling permanently in all the habitable places along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at
[361] certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitáua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers.

When I ascended the length of the Tapirapé River in a canoe in
311 1935, its banks were uninhabited. There was a single inhabitant at the river mouth, and he manned, so to speak, the most advanced
648 post of our civilization. In July, 1947, there were eight houses in Pôrto Velho, which stands more or less at the middle point of the navigable stretch, that is, 15 or 18 leagues from the mouth, and nearly all of their occupants came from the state of Pará and had lived previously at various spots on the Araguaia.

Their settlement, and with it the occupation of the Indian lands, began about five years ago and presents aspects characteristic of the processes that were repeated, with certain variations, throughout the colonization of Brazil. Their leader is a farmer by the name of Lucio

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial 302 hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string ligatures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women, 301 wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men [302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca [386] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men 482 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

MANUFACTURES

286 **Weaving.**—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on 462 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinamba* and other *Tupí* groups.

323 **Ceramics.**—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is 462 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised 531 geometrical decorations.

531 **Gourds.**—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

Basketry.—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the 285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers [53] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

[P. 397]

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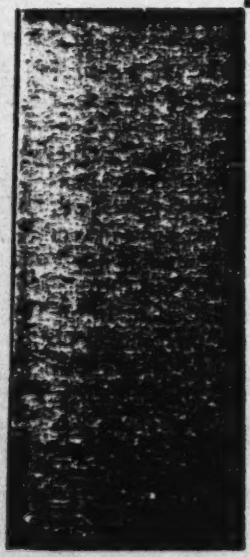

14

Champukwi of the Village of the Tapirs

Charles Wagley

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

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Champukwi on the Trip to Furo de Pedra.

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of my life, a feeling that was shared, I believe, by Valentim Gomes and by Champukwi.

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Champukwi adjusted to Furo de Pedra with amazing rapidity. His short visit as a youth to the mission station undoubtedly contributed to his quick adaptation although, to be sure, there were minor problems and incidents. The Brazilians of Furo de Pedra were accustomed to Indians, for nearby there was a village of semi-civilized Caraja Indians who frequently visited and traded in the settlement. Yet, Champukwi was a bit of a curiosity—the townspeople had seen only one other Tapirapé. The local Brazilians invited him into their homes and offered him coffee and sweets. Both Valentim Gomes and I watched over his movements with all the anxiety of overprotective parents for fear that he might be exposed to a respiratory infection (he did not contract any) or that the hospitality of the local Brazilians might persuade him to drink *cachaça* (sugar cane *aguardiente*). Alcoholic beverages were unknown to the Tapirapé who are unlike most South American groups in this respect.

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13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
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in this respect. According to Champukwi's own report, he tried *cachaça* only once in Furo de Pedra and (quite normally) found it distasteful and unpleasant. Yet there were moments that were awkward at the time however humorous they seem in retrospect. One day when I bought several dozen oranges in the street, Champukwi calmly removed the trousers that had been provided for him and made a sack to carry home the oranges by tying up the legs. In Furo de Pedra, he often went nude in the house we had rented for our stay. Even the Brazilian woman who came to prepare our meals became more or less accustomed to his nakedness, but sometimes he forgot to dress before sallying forth into the street. The rural Brazilian diét, derived in large measure from native Indian foods, seemed to please Champukwi, but he could not be comfortable eating at the table. He preferred during meals to sit across the room on a low stool.

Champukwi's reaction to this rural form of Brazilian civilization was not childlike in any way. He in turn became an ethnologist. He wanted to see the gardens that provided the food for so many people (Furo de Pedra had hardly more than 400 people at that time). He was fascinated by the sewing machines with which he saw the women working. He attended the Catholic ceremonies held in the little chapel. He saw pairs of men and women dance face to face in semblance of an intimate embrace. About these and other strange customs he had many questions. But like the inquisitive anthropologist who had come to live in his village, his own curiosity sometimes became obtrusive. He peered into the homes of people and sometimes entered uninvited. And he followed the Brazilian women to their rather isolated bathing spot in the Araguaia River to discover if there were any anatomical differences between these women and those in his village. He even made sexual advances to Brazilian women, actions which, if he had known, were very dangerous in view of the jealous zeal with which Brazilian males protect the honor of their wives and daughters. On the whole, however, Champukwi became quite a favorite of the local Brazilians during his two week visit to Furo de Pedra. His Portuguese improved while he visited in their homes, and he collected simple presents, such as fish hooks, bottles, tin cans, and the like, to take home with him. Even during this short period away from the village, my work with him continued. He told me of antagonisms, gossip, and schisms in the